

A T R V E Coppie of a Dis-

course written by a Gentleman,
employed in the late Voyage of
Spaine and Portingale:



Sent to his particular friend, and
by him published, for the better satisfi-
on of all such, as hauing been sedu-
ced by particular report, haue entred in-
to conceipts tending to the dis-
credit of the enterprise, and
Actors of the
same.



AT LONDON
Printed for Thomas Woodcock
dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at
the signe of the blacke Beare.

1 5 8 9.

To the Reader.



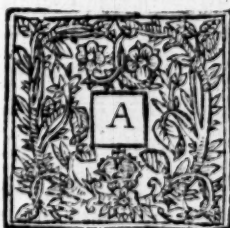
Some holding opinion, that it is onely proper to men of learning (whose Arte may grace their dooings) to write of matter worthie to be committed to the view of future Ages, may iudge the publication of such Discourses as are contained in this Pamphlet, to be an aduventure too great for a professed Souldier to vndertake: but I, more respecting the absolute trueth of the matter, than the faire shew that might be set thereon; and preferring the high reputation of the Authors in this Iourney before the request of my particular friend, haue presumed to present vnto you a report of the late *Voyage into Spaine and Pertingall*, sent vnto me almost 4. moneths sithence frō a Gentleman my verie nere friend employed in the same; who, as it appeareth in his obseruations, hath aduisedlie scene into euerie action thereof: and because I haue often conferred with manie that were in the same Iourney, verie nere vpon euerie particular of his relation, and finde as much confirmed as I haue receiued, I presume to deliuer it vnto you for true & exact. Howbeit, forasmuch as it came vnto my hands with his earnest request to referue it to my selfe, I had almost consented thereunto; had not the desire I haue to reconcile the contrarietie of opinions that be held of that action, & to make it known what honour the cause hath laid vpon our whole Nation, mooued me to publish the same: whereof sith there may growe a greater benefit in publike, (for that manie shall partake thereof) than the pleasure can be to him in smothering the labors he hath

To the Reader.

bestowed in setting downe the Discourse, I doubt not but he esteeming a cōmon good before his priuate fancie, will pardon me herein. In the behalfe of whom, I beseech you to whose viewe and reading the same is offered, not so curiously to looke vpon the forme, as vpon the matter; which I present vnto you as he sent it, naked and vnpolished. And you that were companions with him of the Journey, if anie of you may thinke your selues not fully satisfied in the report of your deservings, let me intreate you to excuse him, in that he endeavouring to write thereof briefly for my particular vnderstanding, did onely take notice of them who cōmaunded the seruices in chiefe, as being of greatest marke, and lay the blame vpon me, who can by no meanes auoyd it: sauing that from the fault I haue committed, (if it be a fault) I hope there may some good proceed. It hath satisfied me in many things, whereof I beeing ignorant, was led into an erroneous conceipt of the matter and of the persons: and I hope it shall both confirme others who maie remaine doubtfull of either; and reforme them that hauing been seduced, are become sectaries agaynst the same. I will therefore commend the man and matter to your friendly censure, forbearing to notifie his name, least I might increase mine offence against him; & be namelesse my selfe for other good considerations: which I leaue friendly Reader to thy best construction.



THE TRVE COPIE
of a letter sent from a Gentleman, who was in al the seruices that were in the late Iourney of *Spaine*, and *Portingall*, to a friend of his.



Although the desire of aduancing my reputation, caused me to withstand the manie perswasions you vsed, to hold me at home, and the pursute of honorable actions drew me (contrarie to your expectation) to neglect that aduise, which in loue I know you gaue me: yet in respect of the manie assurances you haue yeelded me of your kindest friendship, I can not suspect that you wil either loue or esteeme me the lesse, at this my returne: and therefore will not omit anie occasion which may make me appeare thankfull, or discharge anie part of that dutie I owe you; which now is none other, than to offer you a true discourse how these warres of *Spaine* and *Portingall* haue passed since our going out of *England* the xiiii. of Appill, till our returne which was the first of Iuly. Wherein I wil (vnder your fauourable pardon) for your further satisfaction, aswell make relation of those reasons which confirmed me in my purpose of going abroad, as of these accidents which haue happened during our abode there; thereby hoping to perswade you, that no light fancie did draw me from the fruition of your dearest friendship, but an earnest desire by following the warres, to make my selfe moze worthe of the same.

Having therefore determinately purposed to put on
 this habit of a Souldiour, I grewe doubtfull whether to
 imploy my time in the warres of the Lowe Countreyes,
 which are in auxiliarie manner mainteined by her Maie-
 stie; or to follow the fortune of this voyage, which was an
 aduenture of her and manie honozable personages, in re-
 venge of vnsupportable wrongs offered vnto the estate of
 our Countrey by the *Castilian* King: in arguing where-
 of, I finde that by how much the Challenger is reputed
 before the defendant, by so much is this iorney to be pre-
 ferred before those defensiuē warres. For had the Duke
 of *Parma* his turke been to defend, as it was his good for-
 tune to invade, from whence could haue proceeded that
 glorious honoz which these late warres haue laid vpon
 him, or what could haue been said more of him, than of a
 Respondent (though neuer so valiant) in a priuate Du-
 ell: Euen, that he hath done no more than by his honour
 he was tied vnto. For the gaine of one Towne or anie
 small defeate giueth more renowme to the Assailant, than
 the defence of a Countrey, or the withstanding of twen-
 tie encoounters can yeld any man who is bound by his place
 to gard the same: whereof as well the particulers of our
 age, especially in the *Spaniard*, as the reports of former hi-
 stories may assure vs, which haue still laid the same of all
 warres vpon the Inuador. And do not ours in these daies
 liue obscured in *Flanders*, either not hauing wherewithall
 to manage anie warre, or not putting on Armes, but to
 defend themselves when the Enemie shall procure them?
 Whereas in this short time of our Aduenture, wee haue
 wonne a Towne by escalade, battred and assaulted ano-
 ther, ouerthrowen a mightie Princes power in the field,
 landed our Armie in thre seuerall places of his Kingdom,
 marched seauen daies in the hart of his Countrey, Ipen
 thre nights in the Suburbes of his principall Citie, bea-
 ten his forces into the gates thereof, and possessed two of
 his frontier Forts, as shall in discourse thereof more par-
 ticularly appeare: whereby I conclude, that going with
 an

an Inuadour, and in such an action as euerie daie giueth new experience, I haue much to vaunt of, that my fortune did rather carrie me thither, than into the warres of *Flanders*. Notwithstanding the vehement perswasions you vsed with me to the contrarie, the ground whereof sithence you receiued them from others, you must giue me leaue to acquaint you with the error you were lead into by them, who labouring to bring the world into an opinion, that it stood more with the safetie of our Estate to bend all our forces against the Prince of *Parma*, than to followe this action, by looking into the true effects of this Journey, will iudicially conuince themselves of mistaking the matter. For, may the Conquest of these Countreies against the Prince of *Parma*, bee thought more easie for vs alone now, than the defence of them was xi. yeares agoe, with the men and money of the Queene of *England*? the power of the Monsieur of *France*? the assistance of the principall States of *Germanie*? and the Nobilitie of their owne Countrey? Could not an Armie of more than 20000. horse and almost 30000. fote, beate Don Iohn de *Austria* out of the Countrey, who was possessed of a verie few frontier Townes? And shall it now be laid vpon her Maiesties shoulders to remoue so mightie an Enimie, who hath left vs but 3. whole parts of 17. vncōquered? It is not a Journey of a few months, nor an auxiliarie warre of few yerres that can damnisie the King of *Spaine* in those places, where we shall meeete at euerie 8. or 10. miles end with a Towne, which will cost more the winning, than wil! yearly pay 4. or 5000. mens wages, where all the Countrey is quartred by Riuers, which haue no passage vnfortified: and where most of the best Souldiers of *Christendome* that be on our aduerse partie be in pencion. But our Armie which hath not cost her Maiestie much aboue the third part of one yeares expences in the Lowe Countries, hath alreadie spoyled a great part of the provision he had made at the *Groyne* of all sorts, for a newe voyage into *England*; burnt 3. of his ships, whereof one

was the second in the last yeares expedition, taken from him aboue 150. péeses of good artillarie, cut off moze than 60. hulkes, and 20. French ships well manned, fit & ready to serue him for men of warre against vs, laden for his store with corne, victualls, masts, cables, and other merchandizes; slaine and taken the principall men of warre hee had in *Galitia*; made Don Pedro Enriques de Gusmañ, Conde de Fuentes, Generall of his Forces in *Portingall*, shamefullie runne at *Penicha*; laide a long of his best Commaunders in *Lisbone*: and by these fewe adventures discovered how easelie her Maestie may without any great adventure in short time pull the Tirant of the World vpon his knees, as well by the disquieting his vsurpation of *Portingall* as without difficultie in keeping the commoditie of his *Indies* from him, by sending an armie so accomplished, as may not bee subject to those extremities which we haue endured: except he draw for those defences, his forces out of the Lowe countries and disfurnish his garisons of *Naples* and *Milan*, which with safetie of those places he may not doe. And yet by this meane shall rather be inforced thereunto, than by any force that can be vsed there against him: wherefore I directly conclude, that this proceeding is the most safe and necessarie way to be held against him; and therefore moze importing, than the warre in the Lowe Countries.

Yet hath the iourney (I know) been much misliked by some, who either thinking too worthely of the Spaniards valour, too indifferently of his purposes against vs, or too unworthely of them that vnderooke this iourney against him, did thinke it a thing dangerous to encounter the Spaniard at his owne home, a thing needlesse to proceede by inuasion against him, a thing of too great moment for two subjects of their qualitie to vndertake. And therefore did not so aduance the beginnings as though they hoped for any good successe thereof.

The chaunces of warres bee things most vncertaine: for what people soeuer vndertake them, they are in deede
but

but as chastizements appointed by God for the one side or the other. For which purpose it hath pleased him to giue some victories to the Spaniards of late yeares against some whome he had in purpose to ruine. But if we consider what warres they be that haue made their name so terrible, we shall finde them to haue been none other, than against the barbarous *Moores*, the naked *Indians*, and the vnarmed *Netherlanders*: whose yeelding rather to the name than act of the *Spaniards*, hath put them into such a conceipt of their mightines, as they haue considerately vnderaken the conquest of our Monarchie, consisting of a people vnited and alwaies held sufficiently warlike: against whom, what successe their inuincible Armie had the last yeare, as our verie childzen can witnes, so I doubt not but this voyage hath sufficiently made knowne, what they are euen vpon their owne dounghill: which had it been set out in such sort, as it was agreed vpon by their first demand, it might haue made our Nation the most glorious people of the world. For hath not the want of 8. of the 12. peeces of Artillerie which was promised vnto the Adventure, lost her Maiestie the possession of the *Groyne*, and many other places, as hereafter shal appeare; whose defensible Rampiers were greater than our batterie (such as it was) cold force: and therefore were left vnattempted.

It was also resolved to haue sent 600. English horse of the Lowe Countries, wherof we had not one, notwithstanding the great charges expended in their transportation hither: and that may the Armie assembled at *Puente de Burgos* thanke God of, as well as the forces of *Portingall*: who foreranne vs sixe daies together: Did wee not want seauen of y^e thirtene old Companies, we should haue had from thence: foure of the ten dutch Companies: & sixe of their men of warre for the sea, from the *Hollanders*: which I may iustly say we wanted, in that we might haue had so many good souldiers, so many good shippes, and so many able bodies more than we had:

Did there not, vpon the first thinking of the Journey

diuers gallant Courtiers put in their names for aduenturers to the summe of 10000 li. who seeing it went forward in good earnest, aduised themselves better, and laid the want of so much money vpon the Journey?

Was there not moreouer a round summe of the aduventure spent in leuieng, furnishing, and mainteyning three moneths 1500. men for the seruice of *Berghen*. with which companies the Dutinies of *Ostend*, was suppressed; a seruice of no small moment?

What miserie the detracting of the time of our setting out, which should haue been the first of *Februarie*, did lay vpon vs, too many can witnesse: and what extremitie the want of that moneths victualls which we did eate, during the moneth wee lay at *Plimoth* for a winde, might haue driuen vs vnto, no man can doubt of, that knoweth what men doe liue by, had not God giuen vs in the end a more prosperous winde and shorter passage into *Galicia*, then hath been often seen; where our owne force and fortune reuictualled vs largely: of which crosse windes that held vs two daies after our going out, the Generalls being wearie, thrust to Sea in the same, wisely choosing rather to attend the change thereof there; than by being in harbourough to lose any part of the better when it should come by hauing their men on shoare: in which two daies 25. of our companies shipped in parte of the fleete, were scattered from vs, either not being able or willing to double *Vshant*.

These burthens laid vpon our Generalls befoze their going out, they haue patientlie endured, and I thinke they haue thereby much enlarged their honoꝝ: for hauing done thus much with the want of our Artillarie, 600. horse, 3000. foote, 20000 li. of their aduventure, and one moneths victualls of their proportion, what may bee coniectured they would haue done with their full compliment?

For the losse of our men at Sea, since wee can lay it on none but the will of GOD, what can be saide more, than that it is his pleasure, to turne all those impediments to the honour of them, against whome they were intended:

and

and he will still shew himselfe the God of hostes in doing great things by them, whome many haue sought to obscure: who if they had let the action fall at the height thereof in respect of those defects, which were such especially for the seruice at land, as would haue made a mightie subiect stoope vnder them; I doe not see, how any man could iustly haue laide any reproofe vpon him who commanded the same: but rather haue lamented the iniquitie of this time, wherein men whom forrein Countries haue for their conduct in seruice worthily esteemed of, should not only in their own Countrey not be seconded in their honourable ende- uors, but mightily hindred, euen to the impairing of their owne estates, which most willingly they haue aduentured for the good of their Countries: whose worth I will not valew by my report, least I should seeme guiltie of flatter- rie, (which my soule abhorreth,) and yet come short in the true measure of their praise. Duely for your instruction, a- gainst them who had almost seduced you from the true o- pinion you ought to holde of such men, you shall vnder- stand that Generall Norris from his booke was trained by in the warres of the Admirall of *France*: and in verie young yeares had charge of men vnder the Erle of Essex in *Ireland*: which with what commendations he then dis- charged, I leaue to the reporte of them who obserued those seruices. Upon the breach betwixt Don Iohn and the States, he was made Colonell Generall of all the *English* forces there present, or to come, which he continued two yeares: hee was then made Marshall of the field, vnder Conte Hohenlo: and after that, Generall of the armie in *Frisland*: at his comming home in the time of Monsiers gouernement in *Flanders*, hee was made Lord President of *Monster* in *Ireland*: which he yet holdeth, from whence within one yeare he was sent for, and sent Generall of the *English* forces her Maiestie then lent to the Lowe Coun- tries: which hee held till the Earle of *Leicesters* going o- uer. And hee was made Marshall of the field in *England*, the enemy being vpon our Coast, and when it was expect-
ted

ted the Crowne of *England* should haue been tried by bat-
taile. All which places of commandement which neuer a-
ny English-man successiuelly attained vnto in foraine
Warres, and the high places her Maiestie hath thought
him worthe of, may suffice to perswade you, that he was
not altogether unlikely to discharge that which he under-
tooke.

What same Generall Drake hath gotten by his iour-
ney about the world, by his aduentures to the west *Indies*:
and the scourges he hath laid vpon the *Spanish* Nation, I
leauē to the *Southerne* parts to speak of, and referre you to
the booke extant in our own language treating of the same;
and beseech you, considering the waightie matters they
haue in all the course of their liues with wonderfull repu-
tation managed, that you will esteeme them not well in-
formed of their proceedings, that thinke them insufficient
to passe through that which they undertooke, especiallie ha-
uing gone thus farre in the viewe of the world, through so
many incombances, and disappointed of those agree-
ments which led them the rather to undertake the seruice.
But it may be you wil thinke me herein either too much o-
pinionated of the *Voyage*, or conceited of the *Commanders*,
that labouring thus earnestly to aduance the opinion of
them both, haue not so much as touched any part of the
misorders, weakenes and wants that haue been amongst
vs, whereof, they that returned did plentifully report.
True it is, I haue conceived a great opinion of the Jour-
ney, and doe thinke honorably of the *Commanders*: for we
finde in greatest antiquities, that many *Commanders*
haue bene receiued home with triumph for lesse merite,
and that our owne Countrey hath honoured men hereto-
fore with admiration, for aduentures vnequall to this: it
might therefore in those daies haue seemed superfluous to
extend any mans commendations by particuler remem-
brances, for that then all men were readie to giue eue-
rie man his due. But I holde it most necessarie in these
daies sithence euerie vertue findeth her direct opposit, and
actions

actions worthy of all memory, are in danger to be enuiouslie obscured to denounce the praises of the action, and actors to the full, but yet no further than with sinceritie of truth, and not without grieuing at the iniurie of this time, wherein is enforced a necessitie of Apologies for those men, & matters, whichall former times were accustomed to entertaine with the greatest applause that might be. But to answer the reports which haue been giuen out in reproch of the actors & action by such as were in the same. Let no man think otherwise, but that they who fearing the casual accidents of warre had any purpose of retourning, did first aduise of some occasion that should moue them thereunto: and hauing found any what so euer did thinke it sufficiently iust, in respect of the earnest desire they had to seek out matter that might colour their comming home.

Of these there were some, who hauing noted the late Flemish warres, did finde that many young men haue gone ouer and safely retourned Soldiers within fewe Moneths, in hauing learned some words of Art, vsed in the warres, and thought after that good example to spend like time amongst vs: which being expired they began to quarrell at the great Mortallitie that was amongst vs.

The neglect of discipline in the Armie, for that men were suffered to be drunck with the plentie of Wines.

The scarfetie of Surgions.

The want of Carriages for the hurt and sicke: and the penurie of victualls in the Campe.

Thereupon diuining that there would be no good done. And that therfore they could be content to lose their time, and aduenture to retorne home againe.

These men haue either conceiued well of their owne wits (who by obseruing the passages of the warre: were become sufficient Soldiers in these fewe weekes) and did long to be at home, where their discourses might be wondered at, or missing of their Portegues and Milrayes they dreamed on in *Portingall*, would rather retorne to their former manner of life, than attend the end of the

Journey. For seeing that one hazard brought on another: and that though one escaped the bullet this day it might light vpon him to morrow, the next day, or any day; & that y^e warre was not confined to any one place, but that euerie place brought forth new enemies, were glad to see some of the poore Soldiers fall sicke, that they fearing to be infected by them might iustly desire to goe home.

*Answer to the
first.*

The sicknes I confesse was great, because any is too much. But hath it been greater than is ordinarie amongst *Englishmen* at their first entrance into the warres, whether soeuer they goe to want the fulnes of their flesh pots? Haue not ours decayed at al times in *France*, with eating young fruites and drinking new wines? haue they not abundantly perished in the *Lowe Countreies* with cold, and rawnes of the Ayre, even in their *Garrisons*? haue there not more died in *London* in sixe Moneths of the *Plague*, than double our Armie being at the strongest? And could the *Spanish Armie* the last yeare (who had all provisions that could bee thought on for an Armie, and took the fittest season in the yeare for our Climate) auoide sicknes amongst their Soldiers? May it then be thought that ours could escape there, where they found inordinate heat of weather, and hot wines to distemper them withal?

But can it bee, that wee haue lost so many as the common sort perswade themselves we haue? It hath been proued by strickt examinations of our musters, that wee were neuer in our fulnes before our going from *Plymouth* 11000. Soldiers, nor about 2500. *Harriners*. It is also euident that there returned about 6000. of all sorts, as appeareth by the seuerall payments made to them since our comming home. And I haue truly shewed you that of these number verie neare 3000. forsooke the Armie at the Sea, whereof some passed into *France* and the rest returned home. So as wee neuer being 13000. in all, and hauing brought home about 6000. with vs, you may see how the world hath been seduced, in believing that wee haue lost 16000. men by sicknes.

To them that haue made question of the gouernment of the warres (little knowing what appertaineth therunto in that ther were so many drūkards amongst vs) I answer, that in their gouernment of shires & parishes, yea in their berie houtholdes, themselves can hardlie brydle their falls from that vice. For we see it a thing almost impossible, at any your faires or publique assemblies to finde any quarter thereof sober, or in your Townes any Alepoles unfrequented: And we obserue that though any man hauing any disordered persons in their houses, doe locke by their drinke and set buttlers vpon it, that they will yet either by indirect meanes steale themselves drunke from their Masters tables, or runne abroad to seeke it. If then at home in the eyes of your Iustices, Mayors, Preachers, and Masters, and where they pay for euerie pot they take, they cannot be kept from their liquoz: doe they thinke that those base disordered persons whome themselves sent vnto vs, as liuing at home without rule, who hearing of wine do long for it as a dainetie that their purses could neuer reach to in *England*, & hauing it there without money euē in their houses where they lie & hold their garde thay can be kept from being drunke: and once drunke held in any order or tune, except we had for euerie drunckard an officer to attend him. But who be they that haue runne into these disorders: Euen our newest men, our youngest men, and our idlest men, and for the most parte, our slouenly prest men, whome the Iustices (who haue alwaies thought vnworthely of any warre) haue sent out as the scumme and dregges of their Countrey. And those were they, who distemperring themselves with these hot wines, haue brought in that sicknes, which hath infected honest men than themselves. But I hope (as in other places) the recouerie of their diseases dooth acquaint their bodies with the ayre of the Countries where they be; so the remainder of these which haue either recovered, or past without sicknes will proue most fit for Partiall seruises.

If we haue wanted Surgions, may not this rather be
Answer to the third.

laide vpon the Captaines : who are to prouide for their seuerall Companies, than vpon the Generalls, whose care hath been more generall. And how may it be thought that euerie Captaine, vpon whome most of the charges of raising their Companies was laid as an aduenture could prouide themselues of all things expedient for a warre, (which was alwaies wont to bee maintained by the purse of the Prince :) But admit euerie Captaine had his Surgion : yet were the want of curing neuer the lesse, for our English Surgions (for the most) part bee vnerperienced in hurts that come by shot ; because *England* hath not knowen warres, but of late, from whose ignorance proceeded this discomfort, which I hope will warne those that heereafter goe to the warres to make preparation of such as may better preserue mens liues by their skill.

Answer to the fourth.

From whence the want of carriages did proceede, you may coniecture in that we marched through a Countrey, neither plentifull of such provisions, nor willing to parte from any thing : yet this I can assure you that no man of worth was left either hurt or sicke in any place vnprouided for. And that the General commanded all the Hules & Asses, that were laden with any baggage, to be vnburdened and taken to that vse : and the Earle of Essex and hee, for money hired men to carrie men vpon Pikes. And the Earle (whose true vertue and Nobilitie, as it dooth in all other his actions appeare, so did it very much in this) threw his owne stuffe : I meane apparrell and necessaries which he had there from his owne carriages, and let them be left by the way, to put hurt and sicke men vpon them. Of whose most honorable deseruings : I shall not neede here to make any particuler discourse, for that many of his actions doe hereafter giue mee occasion to obserue the same.

Answer to the fifth.

And the great complaint that these men make for the want of victuals : may well proceed from their not knowing the wants of the warre ; for if to feede vpon good beecus

beeues, mutton and goats, be to want, they haue indured great scarcitie at land; whereunto they neuer wanted two daies together, wine to mixe with their water, nor bread to eat with their meate (in some quantitie), except it were such as had bowed rather to starue, than to stirre out of their places for food: of whom we had too manie; who if their time had serued for it, might haue seene in manie *Campes* in the most plentifull *Countries* of the world for victualls, men daylie die with want of bread and drinke, in not hauing money to buy, nor the *Countrie* peelding anie good or healthfull water in anie place; whereas both *Spaine* and *Portingall*, do in euerie place afford the best water that may be, and much more healthfull than any wine for our drinke.

And although some haue most iniuriousslie exclaimed against the small prouisions of victualls for the *Sea*, rather grounding the same vppon an euill that might haue fallen, than anie that did light vppon vs: yet knowe you this, that there is no man so forgetfull, that will say they wanted befoze they came to the *Groyne*; that whosoever made not verie large prouisions for himselfe and his company at the *Groyne*, was verie improuident, where was plentifull store of wine, beefe, and fish, and no man of place prohibited to lape in the same into their shippes; wherewith some did so furnish themselves, as they did not onely in the Journey supplie the wants of such as were lesse prouident than they, but in their return home made a round commoditie of the remainder thereof. And that at *Cascais* there came in such store of prouisions into the *Fleete* out of *England*, as no man that would haue vlsed his diligence could haue wanted his due proportion thereof: as might appeare by the Remainder that was returned to *Plymouth*, and the plentifull sale thereof made out of the *Merchants* ships after their comming into the *Thames*.

But least I should seeme vnto you too studious in confuting idle opinions, or answering frivolous questions, I

will addresse me to the true report of those actions that haue passed there: wherein I protest, I will neither hide anie thing that hath happened against vs, nor attribute more to anie man or matter, than the iust occasions thereof leadeth vnto: wherein it shall appeare, that there hath been nothing left vndone by the Generalls which was before our going out undertaken by them; but that there hath been much more done than was at the first required by Don Antonio, who should haue reaped the fruite of our Aduenture.

After 6. daies sailing from the Coast of *England*, and the first after we had the winde good, beeing the 20. of *April* in the euening, we landed in a Bay more than an *English* mile from the *Groynes*, in our long Boates and Pinnyses without anie impeachment: from whence we presently marched toward the Towne, within one halfe mile whereof we were encountred by the *Enemie*, who being charged by ours, retired into their gates. For that night our Armie lay in the villages, houses and milles next adioyning, and verie neare round about the Towne, into the which the Galeon named *Saint Iohn* (which was the second of the last yeres Fleete against *England*) one hulk, two smaller ships, and two Gallies which were found in the Rode, did beate vpon vs and vpon our Companies, as they passed too and fro that night and the next morning.

Generall Norris hauing that morning before day viewed the Towne, found the same defended on the land side (for it standeth vpon the neck of an Island) with a wal vpon a drie ditch: wherupon he resolved to trie in two places what might be done against it by escalade, and in the meane time abused for the landing of some Artillarie to beat vpon the ships & Gallies, that they might not annoy vs: which being put in execution, vpon the planting of the first peece the Gallies abandoned the Rode, and betooke them to *Farroll*, not farre from thence: and the Armado being beaten with the artillary & musketers that was pla-

ced vpon the next shoare, left her playing vpon vs. The rest of the day was spent in preparing the Companies, & other provisions readie for the surprise of the Base towne, which was effected in this sort.

There were appointed to be landed 1200. men vnder the conduct of Colonell Huntley, and Captaine Fenner the Viceadmirall, on that side next fronting vs by water in long boates and pynnises, wherein were placed manie peeces of artillarie to beate vpon the Towne in their approach: at the corner of the wall which defended the other water side, were appointed Captain Richard Wingfeild Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Norris, and Captaine Sampson Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Drake to enter at lowe water with 500. men if they found it passable, but if not, to betake them to the escalade, for they had also ladders with them: at the other corner of the wall which ioyned to that side, that was attempted by water, were appoynted Colonell Vimpton, and Colonell Brett with 300. men to enter by escalade. All the Companies which should enter by boate being imbarked before the lowe water: and hauing giuen the Alarme, Captaine Wingfeild and Captaine Sampson betooke the to the escalade, for they had in commandement to charge all at one instant. The boates landed without anie great difficultie: yet had they some men hurt in landing. Colonell Bret & Col. Vimpton entred their quarter without encounter, not finding anie defence made against them: for Captain Hinder being one of them that entred by water, at his first entrie (with some of his owne Companie whom he trusted well, betooke himselfe to that part of the wall, which he cleared before that they offered to enter, & so still scoured the wall) till he came on the backe of them who maintained the fight against Captaine Wingfeild & Captaine Sampson; who were twice beaten from their ladders, and found verie good resistance, till the Enemies perceiuing ours entred in two places at their backs, were diuinen to abandon the same. The reason why that place
was

was longer defended than the other, is (as Don Iuan de Luna who commanded the same affirmeth) that the Enemy that day had resolved in council how to make their defences, if they were approached: and therein concluded, that if we attempted it by water, that it was not to be helde, and therefore vpon the discouerie of our Boates, they of the high Towne should make a signall by fier frō thence, that al the low Towne might make their Retreat thither: but they, (whither troubled with the sodaine terror we brought vpon them, or forgetting their decre) omitted the fier, which made them gard that place till wee were entred on euerie side.

Then the Towne being entred in thrē seuerall places with an huge crie, the inhabitants betooke them to the high Towne: which they might with lesse perrill doe: for that ours being strangers ther, knew not the way to cut thē of. The rest that were not put to the sword in furie, fled to the Rockes in the Island, and hid themselues in chambers and sellers, which were euerie day found out in great nūbers.

Amongst those Don Iuan de Luna a man of verie good commandement, hauing hidden himselfe in a house, did the next morning yeld himselfe.

There was also taken that night a Commissarie of vittels called Iuan de vera, who confessed that there were in the *Groyne* at our entrie 500. Soldiers being in seauen companies which returned verie weake (as appeareth by the small numbers of them) from the Journey of *England*, namely.

Under Don Iuan deluna.

Don Diego Barran, a bastard sonne of the Marques of *Santa Chroche*; his companie was that night in the *Gaicon*.

Don Antonio de Herera then at *Madrill*.

Don Pedro de Mauriques Brother to the Earle of *Paxides*.

Don Ieronimo de Mourray of the order of Saint Iuan, with some of the Towne were in the fort.

Don

Don Gomer de Caramasal then at *Madril*.
 Capitaine Mouson, Caucaſo de Socas.

Alſo there came in that day of our landing from
Retanzas the companies of Don Iuan de Moſal-
 le, and Don Petro poure de leon.

Alſo hee ſaith that there was order giuen for ba-
 king of 300000. of Biſquet, ſome in *Bataneas*,
 ſome in *Riuadea*, and the reſt there.

There was then in the Towne 2000. pipes of
 wine, and an 150. in the ſhips.

That there was lately come vnto the Marquis of
Seralba 300000. ducats.

That there was 1000. Jarres of oyle.

A great quantitie of beanes, pease, wheate, and
 fiſh.

That there was 3000. quintells of beefe.

And that not 20. dayes befoze there came in three
 Barques laden with match and harquebuſes.

Some others alſo found fauour to bee taken priſoners,
 but the reſt falling into the hands of the common Soldi-
 ers, had their throates cut: to the number of 500. as I
 coniecture firſt and laſt after wee had entred the Towne;
 and in the enterie thereof, there was found euerie celler
 full of Wine, whereon our men by inordinate drinking,
 both grewe themſelues for the preſent ſenceleſs of the dan-
 ger of the ſhot of the Towne, which hurt many of them
 being drunke, and tooke, the firſt ground of their ſickneſs,
 for of ſuch was our firſt and chiefeſt mortallitie. There
 was alſo aboundant ſtoze of victuals, ſalt and all kinde of
 prouiſion for ſhipping and the warre: which was confeſ-
 ſed by the ſayd Commiſſarie of victuals taken there to be
 the beginning of a Magaſin of all ſorts of prouiſion for a
 new Voiage into *England*: whereby you may coniecture
 what the ſpoile thereof hath aduantaged vs, and preiu-
 diced the King of Spaine.

The next morning about eight of the clocke, the Ene-
 mie abandoned their Shippes. And hauing overcharged

the Artillarie of the Gallion, left her on fier, which burnt in terrible sort two daies together, the fier and ouercharging of the pæces being so great, as of 50. that were in her, ther wer not aboue 16. taken out whole, the rest with ouer charge of the powder bëing broken and molten, with heat of the fire, was taken out in broken pæces into diuerse Shippes. The same day was the Cloister on the south side of the Towne entered by vs, which ioyned very neare to the wall of the Towne, out of the Chambers and other places whereof wee beate into the same with our Musquetiers.

The next day in the afternoone there came downe some 2000. men gathered together out of the countrie, euen to to the gates of the towne, as resolutie (led by what spirit I knowe not) as though they would haue entered the same: but at the first defence made by ours that had the gard there, wherein were slaine about eighteene of theirs, they toke them to their hæles in the same disorder they made their approach, and with greater speede than ours were able to followe; Norwithstanding, we followed after them more than a mile. The second day Col. Huntley was sent into the countrie with thre or foure hundred men, who brought home verie great store of Cowes and Sheepe for our reliefe.

The third day in the night the Generall had in purpose to take a long Munition house builded vpon their wall, opening towards vs, which would haue giuen vs great aduantage against them; but they knowing the commoditie thereof for vs, burnt it in the beginning of the euening: which put him to a newe counsell, for hee had likewise brought some Artillarie to that side of the towne. During this time, there happened a verie great fire in the lower end of the towne; which had it not bën by the care of the Generals heedlie seen vnto, and the furie thereof prevented, by pulling downe many houses which were most in danger, as next vnto them, had burnt all the provisions we found there, to our wonderfull hinderance.

The

The 4. day were planted vnder the garde of the Cloyster two demie Canons, and two Culuerings against the towne, defended or gabbioned with a crosse wall, through the which our batterie lay; the first & second tye whereof shooke al the wall downe, so as the ordnance lay al open to the enemye, by reason whereof some of þe Canoniers were shot & some slaine. The Lieutenant also of the ordnance Master Spencer was slaine fast by Sir Edward Norris, Master thereof: whose valor being accompanied with an honorable care of defending that trust committed vnto him, he neuer left that place, till he receiued direction from the Generall his brother to cease the Batterie which hee presently did, leauing a guard vppon the same for that day: and in the night following made so good defence for the place of the Batterie, as after there were verie fewe or none annoyed therein. That day Captain Goodwin had in commandement from the Generall, that when the assault should be giuen to the Towne, he should make a proffer of an escalade on the other side, where hee helde his guard: but he (mistaking the signall that should haue been giuen) attempted the same long before the assault, & was shot in the mouth. The same daye the Generall hauing planted his Ordnance readie to batter, caused the towne to be summoned, in which summons, they of the Towne shot at our Drum: immediately after that there was one hanged ouer the wall, and a parley desired, wherein they gaue vs to vnderstand, that the man hanged, was he that shot at the Drum before; wherein also they intreated to haue faire warrs, with promise of the same on their parts: the rest of the parley was spent in talking of Don Iuan de Luna, and some other prisoners, and somewhat of the rendering of the Towne, but not much, for they listened not greatly thereunto.

Generall Norris hauing by his skilfull biewe of the Towne (which is almost all seated vpon a Rocke) found one place therof myneable, & did presently set workmen in hand withal: who after 3. daies laboz, (& the seuenth after

wē were entred the base Towne) had bedded their powder, but indeed not farre inough into the wall. Agaynst which time y^e breach made by y^e cannon being thought assaultable, and Companies appoynted as wel to enter the same, as that which was expected should be blowen by by the Wyne: namely, to that of the Cannon, Captaine Richard Wingfeild, and Captaine Philpot, who lead the Generalls foote Companie; with whom also Captaine Yorke went, whose principall Commandment was ouer the horsmen. And to that of the Wyne, Captaine Iohn Sampson, and Captain Anthonie Wingfeild Lieutenant Colonell to the Master of the Ordnance, with certain selected out of diuers Regiments. All these Companies being in Armes, and the assault intended to be giuen in all places at an instant, fier was put to the train of the Wyne: but by reason the powder brake out backwards in a place where the caue was made too high, there could be nothing done in either place for that day. During this time, Captaine Hinder was sent with some chosen out of euerie Companie into the countrie for prouisions, whereof hee brought in good store, and returned without losse.

The next day Captaine Anthonie Sampson was sent out with some 500. to fetch in prouisions for the Armie, who was encountred by them of the Countrie: but he put the to flight, & returned with good spoyle. The same night the Wyners were set to worke againe, who by the second day after had wrought verie wel into the foundation of the wall. Against which time the Companies aforesaid being in readines for both places (Generall Drake on the other side with 2. or 300. men in Pinnaces, making profer to attempt a strong Fort vpon an Island before the Towne, where he left more than 30. men) fier was giuen to the trayne of the Wyne, which blew by halfe the Tower vnder which the powder was planted. The Assailants hauing in charge vpon the effecting of the Wyne presently to giue the assault, which they did accordingly; but too soone, for hauing entred the top of the breach, the other halfe of
the

the Tower, which with the first force of the powder was onely shaken and made loose, fell vpon our men: vnder which were buried about 20. or 30. then being vnder that part of the Tower. This so amazed our men that stood in the breach, not knowing from whence that terror came, as they forsooke their Commanders, and left them among the ruines of the Wyne. The two Ensignes of Generall Drake and Captaine Anthonie Wingfeild, were shot in the Breach, but their colours were rescued: the Generals by Captaine Sampsons Lieutenant, and Captaine Wingfeilds by himselfe. Amongst them that the wall fell vpon, was Captaine Sydnam pitifully lost: who hauing three or foure great stones vpon his lower parts, was helde so fast, as neither himselfe could stirre, nor anie reasonable Companie recouer him. Notwithstanding the next daye being found to be aliue, ther was 10. or 12. lost in attempting to relieue him.

The breach made by the Cannon, was wonderful wel assaulted by them that had the charge therof, who brought their men to the push of the pike at the top of the Breach. And being readie to enter, the loose earth (which was indeede but the rubbish of the outside of the wall) with the weight of them that were thereon slipped outwards from vnder their fette. Whereby did appeare halfe the wal vnbattered. For let no man thinke that Culuerine or Demie Cannon can sufficiently batter a defensible Rampier: and of those peeces we had, the better of the Demi Canons at the second shot brake in her cariages, so as the battrie was of lesse force, being but of three peeces.

In our Retreat (which was from both breaches thorowe a narrow lane) were many of our men hurt: and Captaine Dolphin, who serued verie well that day, was hurt in the verie Breach. The failing of this attempt, in the opinion of all the beholders, & of such as were of best iudgement, was the fall of the Wyne: which had doubtlesse succeeded, the rather, because the approach was vnloked for by the Enemy in that place, and therefore not

so much defence made there as in the other. Which made the Generall grow to a new resolution: For finding that two dayes batterie had so little beaten their wall, and that he had no better preparation to batter withall: he knewe in his experience, there was no good to be done that way: which I thinke he first put in proofe, to trie if by that terror he could get the vpper Towne, hauing no other waie to put it in hazard so speedelie, and which in my conscience had obtained the Towne, had not the Defendants been in as great perill of their liues by the displeasure of their King in giuing it vp, as by the bullet or sword in defending the same. For that day before the assault, in the view of our Armie, they burnt a Cloyster within the Towne, and manie other houses adioyning to the Castle, to make it the more defencible: whereby it appeared how little opinion themselues had of holding it against vs, had not God (who would not haue vs sodainly made proud) laid that misfortune vpon vs.

Whereby it may appeare, that the foure Cannons, and other pieces of batterie promised to the iourney, and not performed, might haue made her Maiestie Mistres of the *Groyne*: for though the *Pyne* were infortunate, yet if the other breach had been such as the earth would haue heloe our men thereon, I doe not thinke but they had entred it thoroughly at the first assault giuen: which had been more than I haue heard of in our age. And being as it was, is no more than the Prince of *Parma* hath in winning of all his Townes endured, who neuer entred anie place at the first assault, nor aboute three by assault.

The next day, the Generall hearing by a prisoner that was brought in, that the Conde de Andrada had assembled an Armie of 8000. at *Puente de Burgos*, sixe miles from thence in the way to *Petance*, which was but the beginning of an Armie: in that there was a greater leauie readie to come thether vnder the Conde de Altemira, either in purpose to relieue the *Groyne*, or to encamp themselves nere the place of our embarking, there to hinder the

the same; for to that purpose had the Marques of Seralba written to them both the first night of our landing, as the Commissarie taken then confessed, or at the least to stop our further entrance into the Countrey, (for during this time, there were many incursions made of three or four hundred at a time, who burnt, spoiled, and brought in victualls plentifully. The Generall, I say, hearing of this Armie, had in purpose the next day following to visite them, against whom he carried but nine Regiments: in the Vanguard were the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidney: in the Battaille, that of the Generall, of Colonell Lane, and Colonell Medkerk: and in the Rereward, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell Huntley, and Colonell Brets Regiments; leaving the other five Regiments with Generall Drake, for the garde of the Cloyster and Artillerie. About tenne of the clocke the next day, being the first of May, halfe a mile from the Campe, wee discovering the Enemye, Sir Edward Norris, who commanded the Vanguard in chiefe, appoynted his Lieutenant Colonell, Captaine Anthonie Wingfield to command the shot of the same, who deuided the into three troupes; the one he appoynted to Captaine Middleton to be conducted in a way on the left hand: another to Captaine Errington to take the way on the right hand, and the bodie of them (which were Musketters) Captaine Wingfield tooke himselfe, keeping the direct way of the march. But the way taken by Captaine Middleton met a little before with the way helde by Captaine Wingfield, so as he giuing the first charge vpon the Enemye, was in the instant seconded by Captaine Wingfield, who beate them from place to place (they hauing verie good places of defence, and crosse walles which they might haue held long) till they betooke them to their bridge, which is ouer a creeke comming out of the Sea, builded of stone vpon Arches. On the foote of the further side whereof, lay the Campe of the Enemye verie stronglie entrenched, who with our
shot

shot beaten to the further end of the bridge, Sir Edward Norris marching in the point of the pikes, without stay passed to the bridge, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, Captaine Hinder, Captaine Fulford, and diuers others, who found the way cleere ouer y^e same, but through an incredible volie of shot; for that the shot of their Armie flanked vpon both sides of the bridge, the further end whereof was barricaded with barrells: but they who should haue garded the same, seeing the proude approach wee made, forsooke the defence of the Barricade, where Sir Edward entered, and charging the first defendant with his pike, with verie earnestnes in ouerthrusting, fell, and was grievously hurt at the sword in the head, but was most honozable rescued by the Generall his brother, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, and some other gentlemen: Captaine Hinder also hauing his Caske shot off, had five wounds in the head and face at the sword: and Captaine Fulford was shot into the left arme at the same counter: yet were they so throughe lie seconded by the Generall, who thrust himselfe so nere to giue encouragement to the attempt, (which was of wonderful difficultie) as their brauest men that defended that place being ouerthrowne, their whole Armie fell presentlie into route, of whom our men had the chase three miles in foure sondrie waies, which they betooke themselves vnto. There was taken the Standerd with the Kings Armes, and borne before the Generall. How many, two thousand men (for of so many consisted our Vanguard) might kill in pursuit of 4. sundrie parties, so many you may imagine fell before vs that day. And to make the number moze great, our men hauing giuen ouer the execution, and returning to their stands, found many hidden in the Vineyards and hedges which they dispatched. Also Colonell Medkerk was sent with his Regiment three miles further to a Cloyster, which he burnt and spoyle, wherein he found two hundred moze and put them to the sword. There were slaine in this fight on our side onlie Captaine Cooper

per, and one private souldier : Captaine Barton was also hurt vpon the bridge in the eye. But had you seene the strong Baracades they had made on either side of the bridge, and how strongly they lay encamped thereabouts, you would haue thought it a rare resolution of ours to giue so braue a charge vpon an Armie so strongly lodged. After the furie of the execution, the Generall sent the Vanguard one way, and the Battell another, to burne and spoyle; so as you might haue seen the countrie moze than three miles compasse on fire. There was found verie good store of Munition and Victuals in the Campe, some place and rich apparell, which the better sort left behind, they were so hotlie pursued. Our Sailors also landed in an Island next adioynning our shippes, where they burnt and spoiled all they found. Thus we returned to the *Groyn*e, bringing small comfort to the enemy within the same, who shot many times at vs as wee marched out, but not once in our coming backe againe.

The next day was spent in shipping our Artillarie landed for the Batterie, and of the rest taken at the *Groyn*e, which had it been such as might haue giuen vs any assurance of a better batterie, or had there been no other purpose of our Journey but that, I thinke the Generall would haue spent some moze time in the siege of the place.

The two last nights, there were that undertooke to fire the higher towne in one place, where the houses were builded vpon the wall by the water side: but they within suspecting as much, made so good defence against vs, as they preuented the same. In our departure there was fire put into euerie house of the lowe towne, in somuch as I may iustlie say, there was not one house left standing in the Base towne, or the Cloyster.

The next day, being the eight of May, wee embarked our Armie without losse of a man, which (had we not beaten the Enemy at *Puente de Burgos*) had been impossible to haue done; for that without doubt they would haue at-

tempted something against vs in our imbarking : as appeared by the report of the Commissarie aforesayd, who confessed, that the first night of our landing, the Marques of Seralba writ to the Conde de Altemira, the Conde de Andrada, & to Terneis de Santisso, to bring all the forces against vs that they could possiblilie raise, thinking no way so good to assure that place, as to bring an armie thether, wherewithall they might either besiege vs in their Base towne, if we should get it, or to lie betwene vs and our place of imbarking, to fight with vs vpon the advantage ; for they had about 15000. souldiers vnder their commandements.

After wee had put from thence, wee had the winde so contrarie, as wee could not vnder nine daies recover the *Burlings* : in which passage on the 13. day, the Earle of Essex, and with him Master Walter Deuereux his brother (a Gentleman of wonderful great hope), Sir Roger Williams, Colonell generall of the foot men, Sir Philip Butler, who hath alwaies been most inward with him, and Sir Edward Wingfield, came into the Fléete. The Earle hauing put himselfe into the Journey against the opinion of the world, and as it seemed to the hazard of his great fortune, though to the great aduancement of his reputation, (for as the honorable cariage of himselfe towards all men, doth make him highlie estéemed at home; so did his excéeding forwardnes in all seruices, make him to be wondred at amongst vs) who, I say, put off in the same winde from *Famouth*, that wee left *Plymouth* in, where he lay, because he would auoide the importunitie of messengers that were daylie sent for his returne, and some other causes moze secret to himselfe, not knowing (as it seemed) what place the Generals purposed to land in, had been as farre as *Cales* in *Andalosia*, and lay by and downe about the South Cape, where he tooke some ships laden with Cozne, and brought them vnto the Fléete. Also in his returne from thence to méete with our fléete, he fell with the Islands of *Bayon*; and on that side of the
riuer

riuer which *Cannas* standeth vpon, he, with Sir Roger Williams, and those Gentlemen that were with him went on shore, with some men out of the ship he was in, whom the Enemy, that held gard vpon that Coast, would not abide, but fled vp into the countrie.

The 16. day we landed at *Penicha* in *Portingall*, vnder the shot of the Castle, and aboue the waste in water, more than a mile from the towne, wherein many were in perill of drowning, by reason the winde was great, and the Sea went high, which ouerthrewe one boate, wherein five and twentie of Captaine Dolphins men perished. The Enemy, being five Companies of *Spaniards* vnder the commandement of the Conde de Fuentes, sallied out of the towne against vs, and in our landing made their approach close by the water side. But the Earle of Essex, with Sir Roger Williams and his brother, hauing landed sufficient number to make two troupes, left one to hold the way by the water side, and led the other ouer the Sandhills: which the Enemy seeing, drew theirs likewise further into the land; not, as we coniectured, to encounter vs, but indeede to make their speedie passage away: notwithstanding, they did it in such sort, as being charged by ours which were sent out by the Colonell generall vnder Captaine Jackson, they stood the same euen to the push of the pike: in which charge and at the push, Captaine Robert Piew was slaine. The Enemy being fled further than wee had reason to followe them, all our Companies were drawne to the towne: which being vnfortified in any place, wee found vndefended by any man against vs. And therefore the General caused the castle to be sommoned that night: which being abandoned by him that commanded it, a *Portingall*, named Antonio de Aurid, being possessed thereof, desired but to be assured that Don Anthonio was laded, wherevpon he would deliuer the same, which he honestly performed. There was taken out of the Castle some 100. shot and pikes, which Don Emanuel furnished his *Portingalls* withall, and twentie barrells of powder: so as posses-
selling

selling both the Towne and the Castle, were rested there one day; wherein some Friars and other poore men came vnto their newe King, promising in the name of their Countre next adioining, that within two daies he should haue a good supplie of horse and foote for his assistance. That day we remained there, the Generalls companie of horses were vnshipped.

The Generalls hauing there resolved that the Armie should march ouer land to *Lisbone* vnder the conduct of Generall Norris: and that Generall Drake should meet him in the riuer thereof with the Fleete: that there should be one Companie of foote left in garde of the Castle, and sixe in the shippes: also that the sicke and hurt should remaine there with prouisions for their cures. The Generall, to trie the event of the matter by expedition, the next day began to march in this sort: his owne Regiment, and the Regiments of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonel Lane, & Colonel Medkerk, in the Vanguard: General Drake, Colonel Deucreux, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidneis in the Battaille: Sir James Hales, Sir Edward Wingfield, Colonell Vimpsons, Colonell Huntlies, & Colonell Brets in the Arre-ward. By that time our Armie was thus marshalled, Generall Drake, who though he were to passe by Sea, yet to make knowne the honorable desire he had of taking equall part of all fortunes with vs, stode vpon the ascent of an hill, by the which our Battalions must of necessitie march, and with a pleasing kindnes toke his leaue seuerallie of the commanders of euerie Regiment, wishing vs all most happie successe in our iourney ouer the land, with a constant promise that he would, if the iniurie of the weather did not hinder him, meeete vs in the riuer of *Lisbone* with our Fleete. The want of carriages the first day was such, as they were enforced to carrie their Munition vpon mens backes, which was the next day remedied.

In this march Captaine Crisp the Prouost Marshall, caused one who (contrarie to the proclamation published

at our arrivall in *Portingall*) had broken by a house for pillage, to be hanged, with the cause of his death upon his breast, in the place where the act was committed: which good example providentiallie given in the beginning of our march, caused the commandement to be more respectuallie regarded all the journey after, by them whom feare of punishment both onlie hold within compasse. The Camp lodged that night at *Lorignia*: The next day we had intelligence al the way that the enemy had made head of horse and foote against vs at *Toras Vedras*, which wee thought they would haue held: But comming thither the seconde day of our march, not two houres befoze our Vanguard came in, they left the Towne and Castle to the possession of Don Antonio.

There began the greatest want we had of victualls, especiallye of bread, upon a Commandement given from the Generall, that no man should spoyle the Countrey, or take anie thing from anie Portugall: which was more respectuallie observed, than I thinke would haue been in our owne Countrey, amongst our owne friends and kindred: but the Countrey (contrarie to promise) having neglected the provision of victualls for vs, whereby we were driven for that time into a great scarcitie. Which moued the Colonell Generall to call all the Colonels together, and with them to aduise for some better course for our people: who thought it best, first to aduertise y^e king what necessitie we were in, befoze we shuld of our selues alter the first institution of abstinence: the Colonell generall having acquainted the General herewith, with his very good allowance therof, went to the King; who after some expostulations vsed, toke the more carefull order for our men, and after that our Armie was more plentifully relieved,

The third daye wee lodged our Armie in three sundrie villages, the one Battalion lying in *Enchara de los Canalliers*, another in *Enchara de los Obispos*, and the third in *San Sebastians*.

Captaine Yorke who commanded the Generals horse
company,

companie, in this march made triall of the valour of the
hoylmen of the Enemy; who by one of his Corporalls
charged with 8. hoxses through 40. of them, and himselfe
through more than 200. with some 40. hoxse: who would
abide him no longer than they could make way from him.

The next day we marched to *Loris*, and had diuers in-
telligences that the enemy would carrie vs there: for the
Cardinall had made publique promise to them of *Lisbone*,
that he would fight with vs in that place, which hee might
haue done aduantageouslie; for we had a bridge to passe o-
uer in the same place: but before our comming hee dislod-
ged, notwithstanding it appeared vnto vs that hee had in
purpose to encampe there: for wee found the ground sta-
ked out where their trenches should haue been made: and
their hoylmen with some few shot shewed themselves vp-
pon a hill at our comming into that village. Whom Sir
Henrie Norris (whose Regiment had the poynt of the
Vanguard) thought to draw vnto some fight, and there-
fore marched without sound of Drum, and somewhat fa-
ster than ordinarie, thereby to get nere them before hee
were discouered, for he was shadowed from them by an
hill that was betwene him and them: but before he could
draw his companies anie thing nere, they retired.

Generall Drakes Regiment that night for the commo-
ditie of good lodging, drew themselves into a Village,
more than one English mile from thence, and neare the
Enemy: who not daring to do anie thing against vs in
four dayes before, took that occasion, and in the next
morning fell downe vpon that Regiment, crying, *Viva el
Rey Don Antonio*, which was a generall salutation tho-
rough all the Countrey as they came: whom our young
Souldiers (though it were vpon their guard, and before
the watch were discharged) began to entertaine kindly,
but hauing got within their guard, they fell to cut their
throates: but the Alarme being taken inwards, the Of-
ficers of the two next Companies, whose Captaines,
(Captaine Sydnam and Captaine Young) were lately
dead

dead at the *Groyne*, brought down their colours and pikes upon them in so resolute manner, as they presently draue them to retyre with losse: they killed of ours at their first entrance 14. and hurt sixe or seauen.

The next day we lodged at *Aluelana* within three miles of *Lisbone*, where many of our Souldiers drinking in two places of standing waters by the waie, were popsoned, & thereon presently died: some doe thinke it came rather by eating of honnie, which they found in the houses plentifully. But whether it were by water or by honnie, the poore men were popsoned.

That night the Earle of *Essex*, and Sir Roger Williams went out about eleuen of the clock with 1000. men to lye in Ambuscade neere the Towne, and hauing layd the same verie neere, sent some to giue the Alarme vnto the Enemy: which was well performed by them that had the charge thereof, but the Enemy refused to issue after them, so as the Earle returned as soone as it was light without doing anie thing, though he had in purpose, and was readie to haue giuen an honourable Charge on them.

The 25. of May in the euening we came to the Suburbs of *Lisbone*: at the verie entrance whereof, Sir Roger Williams calling Captain Anthony Wingfield with him, toke thirtie shot or thereabouts, and first scowred al the streets till they came verie neare the Towne; where they found none but olde folkes and beggers, crying, *Vinael Rey Don Antonio*, and the houses shut vp: for they had carried much of their wealth into the Towne, and had fired some houses by the water side, ful of corne and other prouisions of victualls, least we should be benefitted thereby, but yet left behinde them great riches in manie houses.

The foure Regiments that had the Vanguard that day which were Colonell Deuereux, Sir Edward Norris, Colonell Sydneys and Generall Drakes whome I name as they marched, the Colonell Generall caused to holde
gaurd

guard in the neareſt ſtreates of the Suburbes: The Battaille and the arrierward ſtood in Armes al the night in the field neare to *Alcantara*. Before Morning Captaine Wingfield, by direction from y^e Colonel General Sir Roger Williams helde guard with Sir Edward Norris his Regiment in thre places verie nere the Towne wal, and ſo helde the ſame till the other Regiments came in the morning. About midnight they within the Towne burnt all their houſes that ſtood vpon their wall either within or without, leaſt we poſſeſſing them, might thereby greatly haue annoyed the Towne.

The next morning Sir Roger Williams attempted, (but not without perill) to take a Church called *S. Antonio*, which ioyned to the wall of the towne, and woulde haue been a verie euill neighbour to the towne: but the Enemy hauing moze eaſie entrie into it than wee, gained it before vs. The reſt of that morning was ſpent in quartering the Battaille and arrierward in the Suburbes called *Bona viſta*, & in placing Muſquetiers in houſes, to frunt their ſhot vpon the wall, who from the ſame ſcowped the great ſtreates verie dangerouslie.

By this time our men being thoroughly wearie with our ſixe dayes March: and the laſt nights watch, were deſirous of reſt: whereof the Enemy being aduertised, about one or two of the clocke ſallied out of the Town, and made their approach in thre ſeueral ſtreates vpon vs, but chiefly in Colonel Breits quarter: who (as moſt of the Armie was) being at reſt, with as much ſped as he could, drew his men into Armes, and made head againſt them ſo thoroughly, as himſelfe was ſlaine in the place, Captaine Carſey ſhot through the thigh, of which hurt he died with in four dayes after, Captaine Carre ſlaine preſently, and Captaine Caue hurt (but not mortally) who were all of his Regiment.

This reſiſtance made as wel here, as in other quarters where Colonel Lane and Colonel Medkerke commanded, put them to a ſodaine ſowle retreat: in ſo much, as the

the Earle of *Essex* had the chase of them euen to the gates of the high Towne, wherein they left behinde them many of their best Cominanders : their Troope of horſemen alſo came out, but being charged by Captaine Yorke, withdrew themſelues againe . Manie of them alſo leſte the ſtreates, and betooke them to houſes which they found open : For the Serieant Maioꝝ Captaine Wilſon ſlewe in one houſe with his owne hands thre or foure, and cauſed them that were with him to kil manie others. Their loſſe I can aſſure you did triple ours, aſwell in qualitie as in quantitie.

During our march to this place, Generall Drake with the whole Flēte was come into *Cascais*, and poſſeſſed the Towne without anie reſiſtance : manie of the inhabitants at their diſcouerie of our Maieſtie, fled with their baggage into the Mountaines, and leſte the Towne for anie man that would poſſeſſe it, till Generall Drake ſent vnto them by a *Portingall* Pilot which he had on board, to offer them all peaceable kindnes, ſo farre forth as they would accept of their King, and miniſter neceſſaries to the Armie he had brought: which offer they ioyfully embraced, & preſently ſent two chiefe men of their Towne, to ſignifie their loyaltie to Don Antonio, and their honeſt affections to our people. Whereupon, the Generall landed his Companies not farre from the Cloyster called *San Domingo*, but not without perill of the ſhot of the Caſtle, which being guarded with ſixtie ſiue Spaniards helde ſtill agaynſt him.

As our Flēte were caſting anker when they came firſt into that Road, there was a ſmall ſhip of *Braſil* that came from thence, which bare too with them, and ſeemed by ſtriking her ſayles, as though ſhe would alſo haue ankered : but taking her fitteſt occaſion, hoyle againe, and would haue paſſed by the Riuer, but the Generall preſently diſcerning her purpoſe, ſent out a Pinnace or two after her, which forced her in ſuch ſort, as ſhe ranne her ſelfe vpon the Rocks : all the men eſcaped out of her, and the lading

(being manie chests of sugar) was made nothing worth by the salt water. In his going thether also, he toke ships of the Port of *Portingal*, which wer sent from thence, with fiftene other from Pedro Vermendes Xantes Serieant Maioz of the same place, laden with men and victualls to *Lisbone*: the rest that escaped, put into *San Vues*.

The next day, it pleased General Norris to cal al þ Colonells together, and to aduise with them, whether it were more expedient to carrie there to attend the Forces of the Portingall hoise and foote wherof the King had made promise, and to march some conuenient number to *Cascais* to fetch our Artillarie and munition, which was all at our ships, sauing that, which for the necessitie of the Seruice, was brought along with vs: Whereunto, some carried away with the vaine hope of Don Antonio, that most part of the Towne stood for vs, held it best to make our abode there, and to send some 3000. for our Artillarie: promising to themselves, that the Enemy being wel beaten the day befoze, would make no more sallies: Some others, (whose vnbeleefe was verie strong of anie hope from the Portingall) perswaded rather to march whollie away, than to be anie longer carried away with an opinion of things, wherof there was so little apparance. The Generall, not willing to leaue anie occasion of blott to be layd vpon him for his speedie going from thence, nor to lose anie more time by attending the hopes of Don Antonio; tolde them, that though the Expedition of *Portingall* were not the onely purpose of their Journey, but an aduenture therin; which if it succeded prosperously, might make them sufficiently rich, & wonderfull honozable; and that they had done so much already in triall thereof, as what ende soeuer happened, could nothing impaire their credits: Yet in regard of the Kings last promise, that hee should haue that night 3000. men armed of his owne Countrey, he would not for that night dislodge. And if they came, thereby to make him so strong, that hee might send the like number for his munition, he would resolute
to

to trie his fortune for the Towne. But if they came not, he found it not conuenient to diuide his Forces, by sending anie to *Cascais*, and keeping a Remainder behinde, since he saw them the day before so boldly sally vpon his whole Armie, and knew that they were stronger of Soldiers armed within the Towne, than hee was without: And that before our returne could be from *Cascais*, that they expected more supplies from all places of Souldiers, for the Duke of *Bragantia*, and Don Francisco de *Toledo* were looked for with great reliefe. Whereupon his conclusion was, that if the 3000. promised, came not that night, to march wholly away the next morning.

It may bee here demanded, why a matter of so great moment should be so slenderlie regarded, as that the Generall should march with such an Armie against such an Enemy, before hee knewe either the fulnes of his owne strength, or certaine meanes how he should abide the place when he should come to it. Wherein I pray you remember the Decree made in the Councell at *Penicha*, and confirmed by publique protestation the first day of our march, that our Maie should meete vs in the riuer of *Lisbone*, in the which was the store of all our provisions, & so the mean of our tariance in that place, which came not, though we continued till we had no Munition left to entertaine a verie small fight. We are also to consider, that the King of *Portingall* (whether carried away with imagination by the aduertisements hee receiued from the *Portingalls*, or willing by any promise to bring such an Armie into his Countrey, thereby to put his fortune once more in triall) assured the Generall, that vpon his first landing, there would be a reuolt of his subiects: wherof there was some hope giuen at our first entrie to *Penicha*, by the manner of the yeelding of that Towne and Fort, which made the Generall thinke it most conuenient speedilie to march to the principall place, thereby to giue courage to the rest of the Countrey. The Friars also and the poore people that came vnto him, promised that within two daies y^e Gentle-

men and others of the countrie would come plentifully in: within which two daies came many more Priestes, and some verie fewe Gentlemen on horsebacke; but not till we came to *Toras Vedras*, where they that noted y^e course of things how they passed, might somewhat discover the weakenes of that people. There they toke two daies more: and at the ende thereof, referred him till our coming to *Lisbone*, with assurance, that so soone as our Armie should be seene there, all the inhabitants would be for the King and fall vpon the *Spaniards*.

After two nights tarrance at *Lisbone*, the King, as you haue heard, promised a supplie of 3000. foote, and some horse: but all his appoyntments being expired, euen to the last of a night, all his horse could not make a Cornet of 40. nor his foote furnish two Ensignes fullie, although they carried thre or foure Colours: and these were altogether such as thought to enrich themselves by the ruine of their neighbors: for they committed more disorders in euerie place wher we came by spoyle, thā any of our own.

The Generall, as you see, hauing done more than before his coming out of *England* was required by the King, and giuen credite to his many promises euen to the breach of the last, he desisted not to perswade him to stay yet nine daies longer: in which time he might haue engaged himselfe further, than with any honor he could come out of againe, by attempting a Towne fortified, wherein were more men armed against vs, than wee had to oppose them with all our Artillarie and Munition, being fiftene miles from vs, and our men then declining; for there was the first shewe of any great sicknes amongst them. Whereby it seemeth, that either his Prelacie did much abuse him in perswading him to hopes, whereof after two or thre daies he sawe no semblance: or he like a lillie loue, who promisseth himselfe fauour by importuning a coy mistris, thought by our long being before his Towne, that in the ende taking pitie on him, they would let him in.

What

What end the Friers had by following him with such deuotion, I knowe not, but sure I am, the Laitie did re- spite their homage till they might see which way the vic- torie would sway; fearing to shewe themselves apparane- lie vnto him, least the *Spaniard* should after our depar- ture (if we preuailed not) call them to accompt: yet sente they vnder hand messages to him of obedience, thereby to saue their owne if he became King; but indeede verie well contented to see the *Spaniards* and vs trie by blowes, who should carrie away the Crowne. For they bee of so base a mould, as they can verie well subiect themselves to any gouernment, where they may liue free frō blowes, and haue libertie to become rich, being loath to endure ha- zard either of life or goods. For durst they haue put on a- nie minds throughly to reuolt, they had three wonderfull good occasions offered them during our being there.

Themselves did in generall confesse, that there were not aboue 5000. *Spaniards* in that part of the Countie, of which number the halfe were out of the Towne till the last day of our march: during which time, how easilie they might haue preuailed against the rest, any man may conceiue. But vpon our approach they tooke them all in, and combined themselves in generall to the Cardinall.

The next day after our comming thether when the sal- lie was made vppon vs by their most resolute *Spaniards*, how easilie might they haue kept them out, or haue giuen vs the Gate which was held for their retreat, if they had had any thought thereof.

And two daies after our comming to *Cascaes*, when 6000. *Spaniards* and *Portingalls* came against vs as farre as *S. Iulians* by land, as you shall presentlie heare, (all which time I thinke there were not many *Spaniards* left in the Towne) they had a more fit occasion to shewe their deuotion to the King, than any could be offered by our tar- rying there. And they could not doubt, that if they had shut them out, but that we would haue fought with them vpon that aduantage, hauing fought them in *Galitia* vpon

disadvantage to beate them: and hauing taken so much paines to seeke them at their owne houses, whereof wee gaue sufficient testimonie in the same accident. But I thinke the feare of the Spaniard had taken so deepe impression within them, as they durst not attempt any thing against them vpon anie hazard.

For, what ciuil Country hath euer suffered themselves to be conquered by so few men as they were; to be depriued of their naturall King, and to be tyrannized ouer thus long but they? And what Countrey liuing in slauerie vnder a stranger whom they naturally hate: hauing an Armie in the Field to fight for them & their libertie, would lie still with the poke vpon their neckes, attending if anie strangers would vnburchē them, with out so much as rousing themselves vnder it but they? They will promise much in speeches, for they bee great talkers, whom the Generall had no reason to distrust without triall, & therefore marched on into their Countrey: But they performed little in action, whereof wee could haue had no prooue without this thorough triall. Wherein hee hath discovered their weaknesse, and honorably performed more than could be in reason expected of him: which had he not done, would not these malingners who seeke occasions of slander, haue reported him to bee suspicious of a people, of whose infidelitie he had no testimonie: and to be fearfull without cause, if he had refused to giue credite to their promises without anie aduventure? Let no frivolous Questionist therefore further enquire, why he marched so manie dayes to *Lisbone*, and carried there so small a while.

The next morning, seeing no performance of promise kept, he gaue order for our marching away; himselfe, the Earle of *Essex*, and Sir Roger Williams remaining with the Stande that was made in the high streete, till the whole Armie was drawne into the field, and so marched out of the Towne, appoynting Captain Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Anthonic Wingfield in the Arreward of them with the shot; thinking that the Enemy

(as it was most likelie) would haue issued out bypon our rising; but they were otherwise aduised. When we were come into the field, euerie Battalion fell into that order which by course appertained vnto them, and so marched that night vnto *Cascais*. Had wee marched through his Countrie as enemies, our Souldiers had been well supplied in all their wants: but had wee made enemies of the Suburbs of *Lisbone*, wee had been the richest Armie that euer went out of *England*: for besides the particuler wealth of euerie house, there were many warehouses by the water side full of all sorts of rich Marchandizes.

In our march that day, the Gallies which had somewhat, but not much, annoyed vs at *Lisbone*, (for that our way lay along the riuer) attended vs till we were past *S. Julians*, bestowing many shot amongst vs, but did no harme at all, sauing they strooke off a priuate Gentlemans legge, and killed the Sergeant Maiors moyle vnder him. The horsemen also followed vs a farre of, and cut off as many sicke men as were not able to hold in march, nor we had carriage for.

After we had been two daies at *Cascais*, wee had intelligence by a Frier, that the Enemie was marching strongly towards vs, and then come as farre as *S. Iulians*: which newes was so welcome to the Earle of *Essex* and the Generalls, as they offered euerie one of them to giue the messenger a hundred Crownes if they found them in the place: for the Generall desiring nothing more than to fight with them in field rounge, dispatched that night a messenger with a Trompet, by whom he writ a Cartell to the Generall of their Armie, wherein he gaue them the lie, in that it was by them reported that we dislodged from *Lisbone* in disorder and feare of them (which indeede was most false) for that it was five of the clock in the morning before wee fell into Armes, and then went in such sort, as they had no courage to followe out bypon vs. Also he challenged him therein, to meete him the nexte morning with his whole Armie, if he durst attend his coming,
and

and there to trie out the iustnes of their quarrell by battaile: by whom also the Earle of *Essex* (who preferring the honoz of the cause, which was his Countries, before his owne safetie) sent a particuler Cartell, offering him selfe against any of theirs, if they had any of his qualitie: or if they would not admit of that, sixe, eight, or tenne, or as many as they would appoynt, should meeete so many of theirs in the head of our Battaile to trie their fortunes with them, and that they should haue assurance of their returne and honorable intreatie.

The Generall accordingly made all his Armie readie by thre of the clocke in the morning and marched euen to the place where they had encamped, but they were dislodged in the night in great disorder, being taken with a soudaine feare that we had been come vpon them, as the Generall was the next daye certainly informed: so as the Trumpet followed them to *Lisbone*, but could not get other answer to either of his letters, but threating to be hangd, for daring to bring such a message: howbeit the Generall had caused to be written vpon the backside of their passport, that if they did offer any violence vnto the messengers, he would hang the best prisoners he had of theirs: which made them to aduise better of the matter and to returne them home, but without answer.

After our Armie came to *Cascais*, and the Castle summoned, the Castellan thereof graunted, that vpon five or sixe shot of the Cannon hee would deliuer the same, but not without sight thereof. The Generall thinking that his distresse within had been such for want of men or victualls as he could not hold it many daies, because he sawe it otherwise defencible enough, determined rather to make him yeeld to that necessitie, than to bring the Cannon, and therefore onlie set a gard vpon the same, least any supplie of those things which hee wanted should be brought vnto them. But he still standing vpon those conditions, the Generall about two daies before he determined to goe to Sea, brought thre or foure peeces of batterie

terie against it : vpon the first tire whereof he rendered, and compounded to goe away with his baggage and Armes : he had one Cannon, two Culuerings, one Basiliske, and three or foure other field peeces, threescore and five Souldiers, verie good store of munition, and victuals enough in the Castle ; insomuch as hee might haue held the same longer than the Generall had in purpose to tarie there. One Companie of foot men was put into the garde thereof, til the Artillarie was taken out, & our Armie embarked ; which without hauing that Fort, we could not without great perill haue done. When we were readie to set saile (one halfe of the Fort being by order from the General blowne vpon by myne) the Companie was drawne away.

During the time we lay in the Road, our Flæte began the second of Iune, and so continued sixe daies after to fetch in some Hulks to the number of 60. of *Dansik, Straten, Rastock, Lubec* and *Hamburgh*, laden with Spanish goods, and as it seemed for the Kings prouision, and going for *Lisbone* : their principall lading was *Cozne, Hastes, Cables, Copper, and Ware* : amongst which were some of great burthen wonderfull well builded for sailing, which had no great lading in them, and therefore it was thought that they were brought for the Kings prouision, to reinfoyce his decayed Nauie : whereof there was the greater likelihood, in that the owner of the greatest of them, which carried two Milnes, was knowne to be verie inward with the Cardinall, who rather than hee would be taken with his ships, committed himselfe vnto his small boate, wherein he reconered *S. Sebastians*. Into the which our men, that befoze were in Flæboates, were shipped, and the Flæboates sent home with an offer of *Cozne* to the value of their hire. But the wind being good for them for *Rochel*, they chose rather to lose their *Cozne* than the winde, and so departed. The Generall also sent his horses with them, and from thence shipped them into *England*.

The third of June, Colonell Deucreux and Colonell Sidney, being both verie sicke, departed for *England*, who in the whole iourney had shewed themselves verie forward to all seruices, and in their departure verie unwilling to leaue vs: that day we embarked all our Armie, but lay in the Road vntill the eight thereof.

The first day the Earle of *Essex*, vpon receipt of letters from her Maiestie, by them that brought in the victualls, presentlie departed towards *England*, with whom Sir Roger Williams was verie desirous to goe, but found the Generalls verie unwilling he should do so, in y^e he bare the next place vnto them, and if they should miscarrie, was to command the Armie. And the same day there came vnto vs two small Barkes that brought tidings of some other shippes come out of *England* with victualls, which were passed vpwads to the Cape: for meeting with whom, the second day after wee set saile for that place, in purpose after our meeting with them to goe to the Isles of *Acores*, the second day, which was the ninth, wee met with them comming backe againe towards vs, whose provision little answered our expectation. Notwithstanding, we resolved to continue our course for the Islands.

About this time was the Marchant Royal, with three or foure other shippes sent to *Penicha*, to fetch away the Companies that were left there; but Captaine Barton hauing receiued letters from the Generalls that were sent ouerland, was departed befoze, not being able by reason of the enemies speedie marching thether, either to bring away the Artillarie, or all his men, according to the direction those letters gaue him; for hee was no sooner gone, than the Enemy possessed the Towne and Castle, and shot at our ships as they came into the Road.

At this time also was the Ambassadoz from the Emperour of *Moroco*, called Rays Hamet Bencasamp, returned, and with him Master Ciprian, a Gentleman of good place and desert, was sent from Don Anthonio, and Captaine Oulley from the Generalls, to the Emperour.

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The next morning, the nine Gallies which were sent not five daies before out of *Andolosia* for the strengthening of the river of *Lisbone* (which being ioyned with the other twelue that were there before, though wee lay hard by them at *S. Iulians*, durst neuer make any attempt against vs vppon our departure from thence) were returning home, and in the morning being a verie dead calme, in the dawning thereof fell in the winde of our flecte, in the vtermoſt part whereof they assailed one stragling Barke of *Plymouth*, of the which Captaine Cauerley being Captaine of the land Companie, with his Lieutenant, the Master, and some of the Barriners abandoned the shippe, and betooke them to the ship boates, whereof one, in which the Master & the Captain wer, was ouerrun with the Gallies, and they drowned. There was also two Hulks stragled farre from the strength of the other ships, which were so calmed, as neither they could get to vs, nor we to them, though all the great ships towed with their boates to haue relieved them, but could not be recovered; in one of which was Captaine Minshaw with his Companie, who fought with them to the last, yea after his ship was on fire, which whether it was fired by himselfe or by them we could not well discern, but might easilie iudge by his long and good fight, that the Enemy could not but susteine much losse, who setting also vpon one other Hulk wherein was but a Lieutenant, and he verie sicke, were by the valour of the Lieutenant put off, although they had first beaten her with their Artillarie, and attempted to board her. And seeing also one other Hulke a league of, a sterne of vs, they made towards her; but finding that she made readie to fight with them, they durst not further attempt her: whereby it seemed their losse being great in the other fights, they were loath to proceed any further.

From that day till the 19. of June, our direction from the Generall was, that if the winde were Northerlie wee should plie for the *Acores*; but if Southerlie, for the Isles of *Bayon*. Wee lay with contrarie windeſ about that

place and the Rocke, till the Southerlie wind preuailing carried vs to *Bayon*, part of our ships to the number of 25. in a great winde which was two dayes befoze, hauing lost the Admiralls and Fléete, according to their direction, fell in the morning of that day with *Bayon*, among whome, was Sir Henric Norris in the *Ayde*: who had in purpose (if the Admiralls had not come in) with some 500. men out of them all to haue landed, and attempted the taking of *Vigo*. The rest of the Fléete helde with Generall Drake, who though he were two dayes befoze put vppon those *Islandes*, cast off againe to sea for the *Acores*: but remembryng how vnprouided he was for that Journey, & seeing that he had lost manie of his great ships, returned for *Bayon*, and came in there that night in the Euening, where he passed by the riuer more than a mile aboue *Vigo*.

The next morning we landed as manie as were able to fight, which were not in the whole aboue 2000. men, (for in the 17. dayes wee continued on board wee had cast manie of our men ouer board) with which number the Colonell Generall marched to the Towne of *Vigo*, neare the which when hee approached, hee sent Captaine Anthonic Wingfield with a Troope of shot to enter one side of the same, who found vpon euerie stréetes end a strong Barriade, but altogether abandoned: for hauing entered the Towne, he found but one man therein, but might see them making way befoze him to *Bayon*. On the other side of the Towne entred Generall Drake with Captaine Richard Wingfield, whose approach on that side (I thinke) made them leaue the places they had so artificialy made for defence: there were also certaine ships sent with the Viceadmirall to lye close befoze the Towne, to beate vpon the same with their artillarie.

In the afternoone were sent 300. vnder the conduct of Captaine Petuin and Captaine Henric Poure, to burne another village betwixt that & *Bayon*, called *Borsis*, & as much of the Countrey as the day would giue them leaue to do; which was a verie pleasant rich Valley, but they burnt

burnt it all, houses and corne, as did others on the other side of the Towne, both that and the next day, so as the Countrey was spoyled seven or eight miles in length. There was found great store of wine in the Towne, but not anie thing els: for the other daies warning of the ships that came first in, gaue them a respite to carrie all away.

The next morning by breake of the day, the Colonell Generall, (who in absence of the Generalls that were on boord their ships, commanded that night on shore) caused all our Companies to be drawn out of the Towne, and sent in two Troops to put fier in euerie house of the same, which done we embarked againe.

This day, there were certaine Marriners (without anie direction) put themselves on shoare, on the contrarie side of the Riuer from vs, for pillage; who were beaten by the Enemie from their boates, and punished by the Generalls for their offer, in going without allowance.

The reasons why we attempted nothing against Bayon, were before shewed to bee want of artillarie, and may now be alledged to be the small number of our men: who should haue gone against so strong a place, manned with verie good souldiers, as was showed by Iuan de Vera taken at the *Groyn*, who confessed that there were 600. olde Souldiers in Garrison there of *Flanders*, and the Tercios of *Naples*, lately also returned out of the Journey of *England*: vnder the leading of

Capitan Puebla.

Christofero Vasques de Viralta, a Souldier of *Flanders*.

Don Petro Camascho, de tercio de *Naples*.

Don Francisco de Cespedes.

Capt. Iuan de Solo, de tercio de *Naples*,

Don Diego de Cassaua.

Capt. Sanban.

Also he saith, there be 18. peeces of brasse, and foure of yron lately layd vpon the walls of the Towne, besides them that were there before.

The same day the Generalls seeing what weake estate our Armie was drawen into by sicknesse, determined to man and victuall 20. of the best ships for the Ilandes of *Acores* with Generall Drake, to see if he could meete with the Indian Fléete, and Generall Norris to returne home with the rest. And for the shifting of men and victualls accordingly, purposed the next morning to fall downe to the Ilands of *Bayon* againe, and to remaine there that daye. But Generall Drake according to their appoyntment being vnder sayle, neuer strooke at the Ilandes, but put straight to sea; whom all the Fléete followed saving 33. which being in the Riuer further than he, and at the entrance out of the same, finding the winde and tide too hard against them, were inforced to cast Anker there for that night: amongst whom, by good Fortune was the Foresight, and in her Sir Edward Norris. And the night following, Generall Norris being driven from the rest of the Fléete by a great storme, (for all that daye was the greatest storme we had all the time we were out) came agayne into the Ilands, but not without great perill, hee being forced to trust to a Spanish Fisher-man (who was taken two dayes before at sea) to bring him in.

The next morning he called a Councell of as manie as he found there, holding the purpose he had before concluded with Sir Francis Drake the day before, and directed all their courses for *England*, tarrying there all that day to water and helpe such with victuall, as were leste in wonderfull distresse, by hauing the victualls that came last, carried away the day before to sea.

The next day he set sayle, & the tenth day after, which was the second of *July* came into *Plymouth*, where he found Sir Francis Drake, & all the *Queenes* ships, with manie of the others, but not all: for the Fléete was dispersed into other harborz; some lead by a desire of returning from whence they came, and some being possessed of the *Hulkes*, sought other Ports from their Generalls eye, wher they might make their priuate commoditie of them,

as they haue done to their great aduantage.

Presently vpon their their arriuall there, the Generalls dissolued all the Armie, sauing 8. Companies, which are yet held together, giuing euerie Souldier five shillings in money, and the Armes he bare to make money of, which was moze than could by anie meanes be due vnto the: for they were not in seruice three months, in which time they had their victualls, which no man will value at lesse than halfe their pay; for such is the allowance in her Maiesties ships to her Marriners, so as there remained but ten shillings a month moze to be paid, for which there was not any priuate man but had apparell and furniture to his own vse, so as euerie common Souldier discharged, receaued moze in money, victualls, apparell and furniture, than his pay did amount vnto.

Notwithstanding, there be euen in the same place where those things haue passed, that either doe not or will not conceaue the Souldiers estate, by comparing their pouer- tie and the shortnesse of the time together, but lay some iniuries vpon the Generalls and the action. Where, and by the way, but especiallie here in *London*, I finde there haue been some false prophets gone before vs, telling straunge tales: For as our Countrey doth bring forth manie gallant men, who desirous of honour, doe put themselves into the actions thereof, so dooth it manie moze dull spirited, who though their thoughtes reach not so high as others, yet doe they listen how other mens acts doe passe, and either beleeuing what anie man will report vnto them, are willingly caried away into errors, or tied to some greater mans faith, become secretaries against a noted truth. The one sort of these do take their opinions from the high way side, or at the fardest goe no farther than *Paules* to enquire what hath been done in this Voyage: where, if they meete with anie, whose capacitie before their going out could not make them liue, nor their valour maintain their reputation, and who went onely for spoyle, complayning on the hardnesse and miserie thereof, they thinke they are bound

bound to giue credite to these honest men who were parties therein, and in verie charitie become of their opinions. The others to make good the faction they are entred into, if they see anie of those malecontents (as euerie iourney yeldeth some) doe runne vnto them like tempting spirits to confirme them in their humour, with assurance that they foresawe befoze our going out what would become thereof.

We be not therefore too credulous in beleeuing euerie report, for you see there haue been many more beholders of these things þ haue passed, thā actors in the same; who by their experience, not hauing the knowledge of the ordinarie wants of the warre, haue thought that to lie hard, not to haue their meate well dressed, to drinke sometimes water, to watch much, or to see men die and be slaine, was a miserable thing; and not hauing so giuen their minds to the seruice as they are any thing instructed thereby, doe for want of better matter discourse ordinarily of these things: whereas the iourney (if they had with that iudgement seen into it, and as their places required) hath giuen them farre more honozable purpose and argument of discourse.

These mens discontentments and mislikings befoze our comming home, haue made me labour thus much to instruct you in the certeintie of euerie thing, because I would not willingly haue you miscarried in the iudgements of them, wherein you shall giue me leaue somewhat to delate vpon a question, which I onlie touched in the beginning of my letter, namelie, whether it bee more expedient for our estate to maintaine an offensive warre against the King of *Spaine* in the Lowe Countries, or as in this iourney, to offend him in his nērer Territories, seeing the grounds of arguing thereof are taken from the experience which the actions of this iourney haue giuen vs.

There is no good subject that will make question, whether it bee behouefull for vs to hold friendship with these
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neighbours of ours or no, aswell in respect of the infinite proportion of their shipping, which must stand either with vs, or against vs; as of the commoditie of their Harbours, especiallie that of *Vlissing*, by the fauour wherof our Maie may continuallie keepe the *Narrow Seas*, and which would harbour a greater Fléece against vs, than the *Spaniard* shall neede to annoy vs withall; who being now distressed by our common Enemy, I thinke it most expedient for our safetie to defend them, and if it may bee to giue them a reentrie into that they haue of late yeares lost vnto him. The one without doubt her Maiestie may doe without difficultie, and in so honorable sort as he shall neuer be able to dispossesse her or them of any the townes they now hold. But if any man thinke that the *Spaniard* may bee expelled from thence more speedilie, or conuenientlie by keeping an Armie there, than by sending one against him into his own Countrie: let him foresee of how many men and continuall supplies that Armie must consist, and what intollerable expences it requireth. And let him thinke by the example of the Duke of *Alua*, when the Prince of *Orrenge* had his great Armie against him: and of Don Ion, when the States had their mightie assemblie against him, how this wise Enemy, with whom wee are to deale, may but by prolonging to fight with vs, leaue vs occasions enough for our Armie within fewe moneths to mutine and breake; or by keeping him in his Townes leaue vs a spoyled field: where though our provision may be such of our owne as we starue not, yet is our weaknes in any strange Countrie such, as with sickness and miserie we shall be dissolued. And let him not forget what a continuall burthen wee hereby lay vpon vs, in that to repossesse those Countries which haue been lately lost, will be a warre of longer continuance than wee shall be able to endure.

In the verie action whereof, what should hinder the King of *Spaine* to bring his forces home vnto vs? For it is certaine he hath long since set downe in Councell, that

there is no way for him whollie to recouer those Lowe Countries, but by bringing the warre vpon *England* it selfe, which hath alwaies assisted them against him: and that being determined, and wherunto he hath been vehementlie vrged by the last yeres losse he sustained vpon our Coasts, and the great dishonour this iourney hath laid vpon him; no doubt if we shall giue him respice to doe it, but he will mightelie aduance his purpose, for he is richlie able thereunto, and wonderfull desirous of reuenge.

To encounter wherewith, I wish euen in true and honest zeale to my Countrie, that wee were all perswaded that there is no such assured meanes for the safetie of our estate, as to busie him with a well furnished Armie in *Spain*, which hath so many goodlie Bayes open, as wee may land without impeachment as many men as shall be needfull for such continuacion. And hauing an Armie of twentie thousand royallie furnished there, we shall not neede to take much care for their payment: for shall not *Lisbone* be thought able to make so fewe men rich, when the Suburbs thereof were found so abounding in riches, as had we made enemy of them, they had largely enriched vs all? Which with what small losse it may be wonne, is not here to shewe; but why it was not wonne by vs, I haue herein shewed you. It is not the spoyle of *Ciuit* sufficient to pay more than shall be needfull to be sent against it, whose defence (as that of *Lisbone*) is onlie force of men, of whom how many may for the present bee raised, is not to be esteemed, because wee haue discovered what kinde of men they bee; euen such as will neuer abide ours in field, nor dare withstand any resolute attempt of ours against them: for during the time wee were in many places of their Countrie, they cannot say that euer they made twentie of our men turne their faces from them. And be there not many other places of lesse difficultie to spoyle, able to satisfie our forces?

But admit that if vpon this Alarme that wee haue giuen him, he tending his naturall and nearest soyle before
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his further remoued off governments, do drawe his forces of old Souldiers out of the Low Countries for his own defence, is not the victorie then wonne by drawing and holding them from thence, for the which we should haue kept an Armie there at a charge by many parts greater than this, and not stirred them?

Admit further our Armie bee impeached from landing there, yet by keeping the Sea, and possessing his principall Roades, are wee not in possibilitie to meete with his Indian Merchants, and verie like to preuent him of his provisions comming out of the East Countreies? without the which, neither the subiect of *Lisbone* is long able to liue, nor the King able to maintain his Nauie: for though the countrey of *Portingall* doe some yeres finde themselves corne, yet are they neuer able to victuall the least part of that Citie. And albeit the King of *Spaine* be the richest Prince in Christendome, yet can he neyther draw cables, hew masts, nor make powder out of his mettalls, but is to bee supplied of them all from thence. Of whom (some will holde opinion) it is no reason to make prize, because they be not our enemies: and that our disgraceance with them, will impeach the trade of our Merchants, and so impouerish our Countrey. Of whose minde I can hardly be drawn to be: For, if my enemy fighting with me doe breake his sword, so as I therby haue the advantage against him; what shall I thinke of him that putteth a new sword into his hand to kil me withal? And may it not be thought more fitting for vs in these times to loose our trades of cloath, than by suffering these mischiefes, to put in hazard, whether we shall haue a Countrey left to make cloth in, or no? And yet though neither *Hamburgh*, *Emden*, nor *Stode* doe receiue our cloth, the necessarie vse thereof in all places is such, as they will finde meanes to take it from vs, with our sufficient commoditie.

And admit (which were impossible) that wee damnishe him neither at sea nor land (for vlesse it bee with a much more mightie Armie than ours, he shall neuer be able to

withstand vs) yet that we by holding him at his home, free our selues from the warre at our owne walls: the benefite whereof let them consider, y best can iudge, & haue obserued the difference of inuading, & being inuaded; the one giuing courage to the Souldier, in that it dooth set before him commoditie and reputation; the other a fearfull terror to the Countrey man, who if by chaunce hee play the man, yet is he neuer the richer: and who knowing manie holes to hide himselfe in, will trie them all before hee put his life in perill by fighting: whereas the Inuador casteth vp his accompt before he goeth out, and being abroad must fight to make himselfe way, as not knowing what place or strength to trust vnto. I will not say what I obserued in our Countrey men when the enimie offered to assaile vs here: but I wish that all *England* knewe what terror we gaue to the same people that frightened vs, by visiting them at their owne houses.

Were not Alexanders fortunes great against the mightie Darius, onely in that his Macedonians thirsted after the wealth of *Persia*, and were bound to fight it out to the last man, because the last man knewe no safer waye to saue himselfe, than by fighting? Whereas the Persians, either trusting to continue still masters of their wealth by yelding to the Inuador, began to practise against their owne King: or hauing moze inward hopes, did hide themselues euen to the last, to see what course the Conquerour would take in his Conquest. And did not the aduice of Scipio, though mightely impugned at the first, proue verie sound and honorable to his Countrey? Who, seeing the Romanes wonderfully amazed at the nearnesse of their enemies Forces, and the losses they dayly sustained by them, gaue counsaile, rather by way of diuersion to carrie an Armie into *Affricke*, & there to assaile, than by a defencie warre at home to remaine subiect to the common spoiles of an assailing Enemie. Which being put in execution, drew the Enemie from the Gates of *Rome*, and Scipio returned home with triumph: albeit his
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beginnings at the first, were not so fortunate against the, as ours haue been in this small time against the Spaniard. The good successe whereof, maye encourage vs to take Armes resolutely against him. And I beseech God it may stirre by all men that are particularly interested therein, to bethinke themselves how small a matter will assure them of their safetie, by holding the Spaniard at a bay, so farre of: whereas if wee giue him leaue quietly to hatch and bring forth his preparations, it will bee with danger to vs all.

He taketh not Armes against vs by anie pretence of title to the Crowne of this Realme, nor led altogether with an ambitious desire to command our Countrey, but with hatred towards our whole Nation and Religion: Her Maiesties Scepter is alreadye giuen by Bull to another, the honours of our Nobilitie are bestowed for rewardes vpon his attendants, our Clergie, our Gentlemen, our Lawyers, yea all men of what condition soeuer, are offered for spoyle vnto the common Souldier. Let euerie man therefore in defence of the libertie and plentie hee hath of long enioyed, offer a voluntarie contribution of the smallest part of their store for the assurance of the rest. It were not much for euerie Iustice of peace, who by his blewe coate protecteth the properest and most seruiceable men at euerie muster from the warres, to contribute the charge that one of these idlemen doe put him to for one yere: nor for the Lawyer, who riseth by the dissensions of his neighbors, to take but one yeaers giftes (which they call fees) out of his coffers. What would it hinder euerie Officer of the Exchequer, and other of her Maiesties Courtes, who without checke doe sodainlie grow to great wealth, honestlie to bring forth the mysticall commoditie of one yeres profit? Or the Clergie, who looke precisely for the Tenth of euerie mans increase, simply to bring forth the Tenth of one yeaers gathering, and in thankfulness to her Maiestie, (who hath continued for all our safeties, a most chargeable warre both at land and sea) bestowe the

same for her honour and their owne assurance, bypon an Armie which may make this bloodie Enemy, so to knowe himselfe and her Maiesties power, as hee shall bethinke him what it is to mooue a stirring people? Who, though they haue receaued some small checke by the sicknesse of this last Journey, yet doubt I not, but if it were made knowen, that the like Voyage were to be supported by a generalitie, (that might and would beare the charge of a more ample prouision) but there would of all sortes most willingly put themselues into the same: some caried with an honorable desire to be in action, & some in loue of such, would affectionately follow their fortunes: some in thirsting to reuenge the death and hurts of their brethren, kindred, and friends: and some in hope of the plentiful spoiles to be found in those Countreyes, hauing been there already and returned poore, would desire to goe againe, with an expectation to make amends for the last: and all, in hatred of that cowardly proud Nation, and in contemplation of the true honor of our own, would with courage take Armes, to hazard their liues against them, whom euery good English man is in nature bound to hate as an implacable Enemy to *England*, thirsting after our blood, and labouring to ruine our land, with hope to bring vs under the yoke of perpetuall slauerie.

Against them is true honour to bee gotten, for that wee shall no sooner set fote in their land, but that euery steppe we tread will yeld vs newe occasion of action, which I wish the gallantrie of our Countrie rather to regarde, than to followe those soft vnprofitable pleasures, wherein they now consume their time and patrimonie. And in two or thre Townes of *Spaine* is the wealth of all *Europe* gathered together, which are the Magasins of the fruits and profites of the East and West *Indies*: whereunto I wish our young able men, who against the libertie they are borne vnto, (terme themselues Seruing men) rather to bend their desires and affections, than to attend their double liuerie and fortie shillings by the yeare wages, and
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the reuerſion of the old Cappie-hold, for carrying a diſh
to his maſters table. But let me here reprehend my ſelfe
and craue pardon, for entring into a matter of ſuch ſtate
and conſequence, the care whereof is alreadie laid vpon a
moſt graue and honorable Councell, who will in their
wiſdomes foreſee the dangers that may bee threatned a-
gainſt vs. And why do I labour to diſquiet the ſecuritie of
theſe happie Gentlemen, & the trade of thoſe honeſt Ser-
uing men, by perſwading them to the warres, when I ſee
the profeſſion therof ſo ſlenderlie eſtimated? For though al
our hope of peace bee fruſtrate, and our quarells determi-
nable by the ſword: though our Enemy hath by his own
forces and his pencionaries induſtrie, confined the vnitied
Provinces into a narrowe rounge, and almoſt diſunited
the ſame: if he be now in a good way to harbour himſelfe
in the principall Hauens of *France*, from whence he may
frunt vs at pleaſure: yea though wee are to hope for no-
thing but a bloudie warre, nor can truſt to any helpe but
Armes; yet how farre the common ſort are from reue-
rencing or regarding any perſons of conduction, was too
apparaunt in the returne of this our iourney, wherein the
baſe and common ſouldier hath been tollerated to ſpeake
againſt the Captaine, and the ſouldier and Captaine a-
gainſt the Generalls, and wherein mechanicall and men
of baſe condition doo dare to cenſure the dooings of them,
of whoſe acts they be not worzhie to talke.

The auncient graue degreé of the Prelacie is vphelde,
though Martin rayle neuer ſo much, and the Lawyer is
after the olde manner worſhipped, whoſoeuer inueigh a-
gainſt him: But the auncient Engliſh honour is taken
from our Men of Warre, and their Profeſſion in diſ-
grace, though neuer ſo neceſſarie. Either we commit A-
dolatrie to Neptune, and will put him alone ſtill to fight
for vs as he did the laſt yere, or we be enchanted with ſome
diuellish opinions, that trauaile nothing more than to di-
miniſh the reputation of them, vpon whoſe ſhoulders the
burthen of our defence againſt the Enemy muſt lie when
occa-

occasion shall be offered. For whensoever he shall set foote vpon our land, it is neither the preaching of the Clergie that can turne him out againe, nor the pleading of any Lawyers that can remoue him out of possession: no, then they will honour them whom now they thinke not on, and then must those men stand betwene them and their perills, who are now thought vnworthie of any estimation.

May the burning of one Towne (which cost the King then being, sixe times as much as this hath done her Maiestie, wherein were lost seauen times as many men as in any one seruice of this iourney, and tarried not the tenth part of our time in the Enemies Countrie) bee by our elders so highly reputed, and sounded out by the historie of the Realme; and can our voyage be so meanlie esteemed, wherein wee burned both Townes and Countries without the losse of fortie men in any such attempt?

Did our Kings in former times reward some with the greatest titles of honour for ouerthrowing a number of poore Scots, who after one battaile lost, were neuer able to reenforce themselves against him; and shall they in this time who haue ouerthrowne our mightie Enemy in battaile, and taken his royall Standerd in the field, besieged the Marques of *Saralva* fiftene daies together, that should haue been the Generall of the Armie against vs, brought away so much of his Artillarie (as I haue before declared) be vnworthelie esteemed?

Is it possible that some in some times should receiue their reward for looking vpon an Enemy, and ours in this time not receiue so much as thanks, for hauing beaten an Enemy at handie strokes?

But it is true, that no man shall be a Prophet in his Countrey: and for my owne part, I will lay aside my Armes till that profession shall haue more reputation, and liue with my friends in the Countrey, attending either some more fortunate time to vse them, or some other good occasion to make me forget them.

But

But what? shall the blind opinion of this Monster, a beast of many heads, (for so hath the generalltie of old been termed) cause me to neglect the profession from whence I challenge some reputation; or diminish my loue to my Countrey, which hetherto hath nourished mee? No, it was for her sake I first tooke Armes: and for her sake I will handle them so long as I shall be able to vse them; not regarding how some men in priuate conuenticles doe measure mens estimations by their owne humours; nor how euerie populer person doth giue sentence on euerie mans actions by the worst accidents. But attending the gracious aspect of our dread Soueraigne, who neuer yet left vertue unrewarded: and depending vpon the iustice of her most rare and graue aduisors, who by their heedie looking into euerie mans worth, doe giue encouragement to the vertuous to excēde others in vertue: and assuring you that there shall neuer any thing happen more pleasing vnto me, than that I may once againe be a partie in some honozable iourney against the *Spaniard* in his owne Countrey, I will cease my complaint: and with them that deserue beyond me, patiently endure the vniuersall censure of our malicious reprobours.

If I haue seemed in the beginning hereof troublesome vnto you in the discouering of those impediments; and answering the slaunders which by the vulgar malicious and mutinous sort are laid as blemishes vpon the iourney, and reproaches vpon the Generalls (hauing indeede proceeded from other heads): let the necessitie of conseruing the reputation of the action in generall, and the honozs of our Generalls in particuler, be my sufficient excuse: the one hauing by the vertue of the other made our Countrey more dyced and renowned, than any act that euer *England* vnderooke before? Or if you haue thought my perswasible discourse long in the latter end; let the affectionate desire of my Countreys good bee therein answerable for me. And such as it is I pray you accept it, as onely recommended to your selfe, and not to bee deliuered to the

publique view of the world, least any man take offence thereat; which some particuler men may seeme iustlie to doe, in that hauing deserued verie well, I should not here, in giue them their due commendations: whereas my purpose in this priuate discourse, hath been onelie to gratifie you with a touch of those principall matters that haue passed, wherein I haue onelie taken notes of those men who either commanded euery seruice, or were of chiefest marke: if therefore you shall impart the same to one, and hee to another, and so it passe through many hands, I knowe not what constructions would be made thereof to my pzeiudice; for that the Hares eares may happelie bee taken for hornes. Howbeit, I hold it verie necessaric (I must confesse) that there should bee some true manifestation made of these things: but bee it farre from me to bee the authoꝝ thereof, as verie vnfit to deliuer my censure of any matter in publique, and most vnwilling to haue my weaknes discovered in priuate. And so doe leaue you to the happie successe of your accustomed good exercises, earnestlie wishing that there may bee some better acceptance made of the fruites of your studies, than there hath been of our hazards in the warres. From London the 30. of August, 1589.

FINIS.

Errors in sundrie names must thus be read.

¶ Pag. 16. lin. 31. reade *Santa Cruz*. lin. 23. reade at *Madrid*. ¶ Pag. 17. lin. 1. reade at *Madrid*. lin. 2. reade *Capt. Manço*. ¶ Pag. 21. lin. 12. reade *Cap. Sydenham*. ¶ Pag. 29. lin. 8. reade at *Lorina*. lin. 34. 35. reade *los Caualleros*. ¶ Pag. 34. lin. 6. reade *Sant'Vnés*. ¶ Pag. 45. lin. 29. 31. read *del Tercio de Napoles*. lin. 34. reade *Capt. Sauban*.

